1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY: Koryak RY

802 he had charged one ruble per brick. At that time, tea was cheaper than usual; but the Chukchee was utterly unable to understand the merchant's calculations.

[823] The Koryak have no standard for the expression of relations of space. The distance between certain points is computed in terms of time. Thus, for instance, the distance between Paren and Gishiga (about 100 miles, according to the estimate of Russians) is spoken of as a trip, on good driving-dogs, lasting two days, or requiring one stop for the night. The conception of distance is in this case only a relative one. A camp of Reindeer Koryak which is moving rather slowly requires six or seven days for this trip. Neither have the Koryak a scale of lineal measures. They use the finger-reach as a unit, but only for measuring thongs.

805 Seasons. — The year is divided into twelve lunar months (ya'ʌļñɪn, "the moon"). The first month begins at the time of the winter solstice, and corresponds to our month of December. The Koryak are very little troubled by the fact that in the interval between two winter solstices an extra new moon may occur. Some months have different names in different places; but the names of the months most commonly used are as follows: —

1. Čaq-ɨ^{ə}vih-ya'ʌļñɪn ("cold winds' month") or ɨ^{ə}viw-ya'ʌļñɪn ("snow-storms' month").
2. Ya'yawuča-ya'ʌļñɪn ("[growing] of the reindeer's spinal sinew month").
3. Tenmitaloo'-ya'ʌļñɪn ("false-making-udder month") or Qoya'-iooča-ya'ʌļñɪn ("reindeer-udder month"). Mr. Bogoras[1] cites for the third and fourth Koryak months names signifying "false reindeer-birth month" and "genuine reindeer-birth month." The first name apparently corresponds to the name of the month signifying "false-udder month."
4. Qoya'-wya-ya'ʌļñɪn ("reindeer-does' calving month"). This month is called "calving month" by the Chukchee also.
5. Imil-ya'ʌļñɪn ("water month").
6. Ano'-ya'ʌļñɪn ("first summer month").
7. Ara'-ya'ʌļñɪn ("second summer month").
8. Čeipi-ya'ʌļñɪn ("reddening [of leaves] month").
9. Yiña-kyčñ-ya'ʌļñɪn ("pairing season of the reindeer-bucks month") or Em-ičvi-ya'ʌļñɪn ("empty [bare] twigs' month").
10. He'tthe-ya'ʌļñɪn ("autumn's month").
11. Kite'p-aiña-ya'ʌļñɪn ("rutting-season of mountain-sheep month").
12. Ļigun'ʌļeut-ya'ʌļñɪn ("itself head month," "month of the head itself").

These names of the months are used not only by the Reindeer, but by the Maritime Koryak as well, though the latter, however, do not know them quite as well. No matter how many times I inquired of the Maritime Koryak the names of the months, they invariably got mixed up.

• 197 Language. — Mr. Bogoras' linguistical researches have proved that the languages of the Chukchee, Koryak, and Kamchadal, are but branches of one linguistic family.

The Koryak language may be subdivided into four main dialects, —

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 51.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

that of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, of the Reindeer and Kamenskoye-Paren Koryak, Alutor Koryak, and the Kerek. Moreover, every group of Reindeer Koryak, and almost every village of Maritime people, have their own provincialisms, with a few insignificant phonetical and lexical peculiarities. Thus, for instance, there are phonetical and lexical differences even between the dialects of the Kamenskoye and Paren villages, which are so short a distance from each other. 197

Thus, in the Paren dialect, *a* of the Kamenskoye dialect is changed to *e*; and the same word may have a different meaning in each of the dialects, or different words may be used to express one and the same conception. For instance, a'pa in the Kamenskoye dialect means "grandfather," and in the Paren dialect, "father." In the Kamenskoye dialect, "mother" is expressed by a'n·a, and in the Paren dialect, by a'mma.

Dittmar[1] divides the Koryak language into five dialects, — that of the Reindeer Koryak, the Kamenskoye, the Ukinskoye, the Pallanskoye, and the Alutor. On the basis of the difference in the dialects pointed out by him, he divides the Koryak into five branches, — the Reindeer, Kamenskoye and Paren people (under which name he includes the inhabitants of eight villages between the Kamenskoye and Paren), Pallantsi (the inhabitants of seven settlements between Pustoretsk and Vayampolka), Ukintsi (the inhabitants of six settlements along the Pacific shore between Oserna and Karagha), and the Alutor people (the inhabitants of nine settlements north of Karagha). Passing over the fact that several settlements and entire groups of Koryak are not included in the branches of the Koryak enumerated above, as we shall see in Chapter III, the very basis of this division is wrong. 101 114

Almost all the Koryak have preserved their native tongue. They learn a foreign language with difficulty; and in their intercourse with other tribes, it is not they who take up the new tongue, but the foreigner, who is usually forced to learn the Koryak language. Thus, the Kamchadal, Tungus, and Russians, when living with the Koryak, have to learn to speak in the Koryak language. Even the Christianized Maritime Koryak of the northern part of Kamchatka, with but few exceptions, have not learned to speak Russian; and none of the Reindeer Koryak know the Russian language. 191

Of the Maritime Koryak, only two hundred (or 2.6 per cent) regard the Russian language as their mother-tongue. These are the inhabitants of the Nayakhan settlement in the Gishiga district, and the Koryak of the Okhotsk district (see Chapter III). The latter are intermixed to such an extent with other tribes (Tungus, Yakut, and Russians) that they can hardly be considered as genuine Koryak.

An insignificant number of Reindeer Koryak, wandering with the Tungus

[1] Dittmar, Die Koriken, p. 47.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

184 162 361 *Anadyr and Okhotsk Districts.* — According to the last census, there were found in the Anadyr district five tents of Reindeer Koryak, or 75 persons (33 men, 42 women), wandering, together with the Chukchee, in the southern part of the Anadyr district, on the northern slope of the Palpal Ridge. In the Okhotsk district 13 persons were found, apparently a camp of Koryak wandering together with the Tungus.

162 177 191 SETTLEMENTS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. *Okhotsk District.* — In the Okhotsk district, Maritime Koryak are found in two settlements only, — in the villages of Yamsk and Tumansk. They are Christians, and have become Russianized. They have forgotten the Koryak language, and speak Russian as well as Tungus. Physically they represent a blood mixture of Russians, Tungus, and Yakut. According to official data there are 205 Koryak in the village of Yamsk, and 26 Koryak in the village of Tumansk, or 66 per cent of the total number of inhabitants of those two villages. All together, there are 231 Maritime Koryak in the Okhotsk district.

162 177 *Gishiga District.* — The settlements of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district are situated along the shores of the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. I begin with the villages on the Okhotsk Sea.

● 197 184 361 1. The settlement Nayakhan (Koryak E'igival, "West") is at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, in Gishiga Bay. Officially the clan is called the "Germanda Clan" (Германдейскій родъ), from the Germanda River (Koryak Ligi'ĉmana[1]), on the banks of which the Koryak used to live. These Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, have become Russianized. They are of the Orthodox faith, and some of them are related to Russians. Although the Koryak language is still in use, it is spoken imperfectly, and not by all. Like the Koryak of the Okhotsk district, they have formed a peculiar dialect of the Russian language. They also speak the Tungus language, as they often come in contact with the Tungus, who in summer come to the Nayakhan settlement to attend the fair. The Nayakhan Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, live in log-cabins built after the Russian fashion. Their summer settlement is at the very mouth of the river; in winter they locate about four miles up the river.

The statistics of 1850 show that in the Germanda Clan there were twenty families, or 125 persons (65 men, 60 women); according to Patkanov (1897), there were only 42 persons (27 men, 15 women); while my figures (1901) show that there were eight families, or 35 persons (21 men, 14 women). Apparently the clan is becoming extinct. Nayakhan is at present the only Koryak settlement in Gishiga Bay.[2]

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[1] From Li'gun, "stone-birch." Birch-trees, apparently, are found along the banks of this river.

[2] Until recently there was another small settlement of Maritime Koryak near the mouth of the Avekova River, but no permanent houses are to be found there any longer. In summer some families of Reindeer Koryak and Tungus fish there. In the town of Gishiginsk proper there were, according to the 1897 census, 17 Koryak.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

361 villages (37–42) of Alut (Russian Olutorsk, Олюторскъ), tlir (Russian Kultusno
162 or Kultusnoye, Култусное), Tllıran (Russian Tilechiki, Тилечики), Vetvey (Ветвей), Vivnık (Вывнуки), Kičhın (Russian Kichiga, Кичига), and Tımlatı (Тымлаты). To the group of Alutor Koryak belong also a certain number of people who wander with reindeer.

The data on the Alutor Koryak at my disposal belong to two lines of information. The census of 1897 enumerates them by clans, according to written information of Mr. Patkanov, and Mr. Bogoras by villages.

According to the census of 1897, we have the following clans: —

Alutor Clan (Олюторскій родъ), which includes 117 sedentary persons (61 men, 56 women) and 81 nomads (43 men, 38 women), a total of 198 persons. Of the sedentary people, 101 (52 men, 49 women) lived in the Alut village, and 16 (9 men, 7 women) in the Kičhın village.

Kultusno Clan (Култусный родъ), which consists of 202 sedentary persons (96 men, 106 women) and 149 nomads (73 men, 76 women), a total of 351 persons. The sedentary people lived in the villages of Vivnık and Tllıran. No separate numbers are given.

Tllıran or Tilechinski Clan (Тилечинскій родъ), which comprises 84 sedentary persons (46 men, 38 women) and 8 nomads (3 men, 5 women), a total of 92 persons. Of the sedentary people, 61 (31 men, 30 women) lived in the Tllıran village, and 23 (15 men, 8 women) in Vivnık.

Vivnık Clan (Вывнукскій родъ), consisting of 96 sedentary people (54 men, 42 women) and 14 nomads (10 men, 4 women), a total of 110 persons. Of the sedentary people, 79 (44 men, 35 women) lived in Vivnık village, and 17 (10 men, 7 women) in the Kičhın village.

Kičhın Clan (Кичигинскій родъ), which consists of 95 sedentary persons (56 men, 39 women) and 63 nomads (34 men, 29 women), a total of 158 persons. Of the sedentary people, 86 (50 men, 36 women) lived in Kičhın, and 9 (6 men, 3 women) in Tllıran.

The whole number of the five clans of the Alutor Koryak, according to the census of 1897, shows 909 persons (476 men, 433 women).

In the manuscript notes of Mr. Patkanov the villages of Vetvey and Tımlatı are not mentioned at all.

The census of Mr. Bogoras, of the Alutor Koryak, was made by villages. For purposes of comparison I will quote also available older official data.

37. The village Alut, according to the census of 1859, had 147 inhabitants (79 men, 68 women); according to the report of the governor (1898), 101 persons (52 men, 49 women), with eleven underground houses. The data of Mr. Bogoras, however (1901), show only 80 persons with seven underground houses. This decrease is apparently to be ascribed to mortality
197 from disease. The inhabitants of Alut have recently been converted to the Greek Orthodox faith.

11: Kennan--206-207 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 174, 197 Reindeer

"There can be no doubt whatever that the Koraks and the powerful Siberian tribe known as Chookchees (or Tchucktchis, according to Vrangell) descended originally from the same stock, and migrated together from their ancient locations to the places where they now live. Even after several centuries of separation, they resemble each other so closely that they can hardly be distinguished, and their languages differ less one from the other than the Portuguese differs from the Spanish. Our Korak interpreters found very little difficulty in conversing with Chookchees; and a comparison of vocabularies which we afterward made showed only a slight dialectical variation, which could be easily accounted for by a few centuries of separation. None of the Siberian languages with which I am acquainted are written, and, lacking a fixed standard of reference, they change with great rapidity. This is [207] shown by a comparison of a modern Chookchee vocabulary with the one compiled by M. de Lesseps in 1788. Many words have altered so materially as to be hardly recognizable. Others, on the contrary, such as 'tin tin,' ice, 'oottoot,' wood, 'weeñgay,' no, 'ay,' yes, and most of the numerals up to ten, have undergone no change whatever."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyek (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

000 the Koryak of the Karaginsk and the Olyutorsk rayons and the small group of the so-called "Kerek."

Furthermore, it is essential to study again the Tungus of the Okhotsk seaboard, who--according to the data provided by Levin--have some Eskimoid traits.

These projects should include also the Tuguro-Chumikansk, the Zeysko-Bureinsk, and the Aldansk Tungus who up to this time have remained almost completely uninvestigated.

6. At this stage of our work the anthropological data with regard to northeastern Asia are insufficiently related to the data in the fields of linguistics, ethnography, and archaeology --a situation which is to be explained by a relative backwardness of scientific work in these fields in the recent times.

Ko 197 Ka 197 174 144 C 197 If--as Bogoraz thought--the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Itelmen languages are, in fact, characterized by certain common linguistic features, (4), and if the appearance of these

4. The question is raised, of course, only with regard to the Itelmen language. The relationship of Chukchee and Koryak is quite obvious.

languages in northeastern Asia was connected with the migration from the outside, it is a tenable hypothesis that the migratory flow brought the Kamchatka racial type. The further development of this hypothesis is prevented by the absence of serious linguistic studies about the degree and character of relationship of the languages of northeastern Asia among themselves and with the languages spoken by peoples inhabiting other regions.

Ka 174 The distribution of the Eskimo and the Kamchatka types does not reveal their connection with the contemporary ethnic classification of the Paleo-Asiatic group. [18] It may be presumed that we are dealing here with a trace of a more ancient ethnic demarcation. Does this distribution not reflect the division of the people in question into reindeer raisers and coastal (bank) hunters? Unfortunately, we do not possess any data about the culture of the internal regions of southeastern Asia before the introduction of reindeer raising.

Ka 144 174 The question of chronological appearance of the Eskimo and the Kamchatka types in northeastern Asia cannot, it seems, be based only on the study of the present-day population groups. The Eskimo type, which has preserved some Americanoid traits regarded, not without some foundation, as protomorphic